LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



E. J. Hall

CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA

Meeting place of the first two sessions of the Continental Congress, 1774 and 1775 (See page 31)

TWENTY CENTS A COPY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

- 1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
- 2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
- 3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
- 4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
- 5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
- 6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
- 7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
- 8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
- g. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
- 10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

For further information regarding the principles of this association, address the Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. (secretary, C. S. Longacre), or any of the affiliated organizations given below:

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Western Canadian Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan): Office, 201 I. O. O. F. Building, Calgary, Alberta; secretary, A. C. Gilbert.



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FIRST QUARTER, 1925

NO. 1

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CONTENTS

Calvin Coolidge Frontisp	Frontispiece	
RELIGION BY GRACE, NOT BY LAW, SAYS CALVIN COOLIDGE	3	
"LOST THE WAY OUR FATHERS TROD"	6	
JUDGE PERRY ON "THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION"	7	
Drastic Sunday Law Before Congress	9	
THE POLITICAL PREACHERS TURNED DOWN	12	
LABOR UNION OPPOSED TO THE JONES SUNDAY BILL	13	
Legal Religion Has Superseded Personal Religion	14	
SUNDAY ENFORCEMENT BY LAW	15	
Some European Countries Three Hundred Years Behind the Times	16	
ETERNAL VIGILANCE THE PRICE OF LIBERTY	20	
THE WORST ENEMIES OF THE GOSPEL	21	
STOP, LOOK, LISTEN! DANGER AHEAD!	23	
SOFT-PEDALING THE DOCTRINE OF CHURCH AND STATE	27	
News and Comment	28	

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National, D. C.

President Coolidge Speaking at the Unveiling, in Washington, D. C., of a Statue of Francis Asbury

true Americanism as conceived by the great American patriots. It is this Americanism of total separation of church and state that President Coolidge referred to when he said:

"We here in America need a deeper understanding of Americanism and a firm practice of it. . . . It is the Americanism of the American Constitution, the belief that our Government should fulfil the guaranties of our Declaration of Independence, that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness should be as much in the minds of modern statesmen as they were in the minds of the pioneers of American liberty. There is but one ark upon which our national faith may rest secure. It is our Constitution."

Bancroft, in his "History of the Formation of the Constitution," very justly says:

"Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States, withheld from the 'Federal Government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power."

President Coolidge believes in the efficacy of religion, but with him religion

is not a legal proposition, but purely an individual matter. "Religion," says he, "appeals to reason," and its fruits "are the result of a divine grace" and "cannot be legislated into being." The President is not a legal religionist, for he says that a legal religion makes its "appeals to the sword," and "rests on force," and "is represented by despotism." "Under our Constitution," continues the President, referring to the subject of religion, "America committed itself to the practical application of the rule of reason."

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We are glad that the President has such a clear conception of the proper functions of religion. There are few men even in America who are able to draw a clear line of demarcation between the proper functions of the church and the real province of the state, between the divine and the human government, between divine laws and civil statutes, and between the obligations we owe to God and the duties we owe to man.

The President says that the civil laws and the police power are ordained "to restrain the vicious and furnish a fair degree of security and protection by legislation and police control, but the real reforms which society in these days is seeking, will come as a result of our

religious convictions, or they will not come at all."

This last statement is worthy of repetition, since so many of our present-day religious reformers are spending much time in "the antechamber of Cæsar," making their appeals to Congress and the State legislatures for legal support of purely religious obligations which man owes to God and religion. All religious persecutions in the past have resulted from a failure on the part of rulers to recognize the distinction between the duties men owe to God and the duties they owe to their fellow men.

While "our government rests upon religion," in the sense that its principles are deeply rooted in Christian ethics,

it is not the custodian nor promoter of religion. The government is ordained, not to proteet or promote religion, but to defend the rights of the individual in the free exercise of religion. The civil government, when exercises its legitimate powers, can deal only with man's proper relationship to his fellow men, and enforce the duties and obligations of man to man. Individuality in religion is the foundation principle of

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true Americanism and the corner-stone of our Federal Constitution.

We are glad we have a President who is a stanch defender of our Constitution and of its guaranties of civil and religious liberty vouchsafed to the individual in the free and unmolested exercise of his religious convictions. We feel that our liberties under the Constitution are safe in his hands so long as he holds that "religion by divine grace, and

not by law," is the ideal of true Americanism

It will be of interest in this connection to note a few of the many comments made by the daily press upon the President's words, and to observe how in the utterance of a few very obvious truths and sound principles, our Chief Magistrate has struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the American people. We quote as follows from the Literary Digest for November 8:

"This is far from being a political speech, says the Springfield Union, 'and yet it is the soundest of political wisdom.' Unfortunately, we are told, church leagues and agencies have adopted the theory that people can be made righteous by law:

"'They have withdrawn their ministration

from the individual as a unit of dynamic righteousness in the civic and social body, repudiated the evangelistic principle on which Bishop Asbury contributed so much to the formation of a successful government of the people, and have organized themselves on the theory that the individual can be kept from failing by laws only. Ministers of many denominations, instead of preaching religion people as did to Bishop Asbury, are crowding into the antechamber of Cæsar, demanding laws to limit, regulate, and prohibit the individual on whose self-control, responsibility, initiative, and character the success of a govern-



National, D. C.
Statue of Francis Asbury, Pioneer Bishop of the
Methodist Episcopal Church in America

ment by the people must depend.

"'Curiously enough, the denominational leaders before whom President Coolidge eulogized this bishop, who did so much to establish Methodism in this country, are spending much of their energy in the anterooms of Cæsar, though in this respect they are perhaps not more conspicuous than those of other denominations. Did they but know it, they are weakening the very sources from which the churches must draw their strength for religious service in behalf of society and of the nation, and at the same time by the misuse of good intentions are developing

some rather serious problems for government.' "The religion of which the President was talking, observes the Newark Evening News, is not one of narrow formulas, of creeds, of sects, of races. 'It is a religion of righteousness, of justice, and of well-doing.' And 'loss of faith in a religion that teaches liberty, justice, the golden rule, will ultimately mean, as the President said, loss of faith in a government con-structed on American lines.' An attempt to force religion or reform on a people by law 'will be governmentally disrupting.' Political government, observes the Washington Post sententiously, 'must be based upon moral righteousness, and not moral righteousness upon political government.' 'In these days of persistently unwise, and unwisely persistent, efforts to make men good by law,' observes the Brooklyn Eagle, the President's thoughts 'should impress every intelligent American.' For-

"'It is the business, the function, the Godgiven mission of organized religion, to create the common goodness out of which good laws will spring. Then good laws will have public opinion behind them. Statutes juggled onto the statute books to superimpose what one class or element in the community calls good, on the will, the conduct, the personal habits of other classes, are immensely harmful to the cause of

any reform.'

"The striving to make laws ordering that certain things which ought not to be done shall not be done, and that certain other things which ought to be done shall be done, says the Albany Evening Journal, is superficial effort, as long as such striving is not the manifestation of the will of the majority. And this can come only by recognition of the fact that 'true religion is something to be lived, not merely something to be declared through preachings, forms, and ceremonials.' The words of the President on this subject, we are told, 'are food for the carnest thought of this nation, and for the thought of all the peoples of the world.'

"In similar vein, the Indianapolis News urges that reform, whatever its nature, must be wrought by the people, sometimes under the authority of a statute, and sometimes not.

But —

"If it is to flourish, it must proceed, not solely from the halls of Congress, but from the hearts and consciences of the people. The great mission of the churches is to those hearts and consciences. The direct road is not always the shortest road, as we should have fearned. The President's little lecture is sound."

"It is sound, avers the New Haven Journal-Courier, as a direct statement of fact which in particular it is the duty of the religious so-

cieties to remember. Moreover:

"'It warns the halls of legislation that they cannot succeed in an attempt to reform and improve society if the individual fails in his part of the undertaking. It warns the reli-

gious societies that if they are to play their part in raising the standards of morals, they must take over the task of improving and correcting society at large, and cease to lean upon the broken legislative reed."

"Lost the Way Our Fathers Trod"

THE editor of the Millen (Ga.)
News, says this concerning the
religio-political trend of our times:

"We seem to have lost the way our fathers trod. The free moral agency of man is practically denied, and individual responsibility little felt. We are neglecting the fundamentals of life, and chasing rainbows. Expediency is fast becoming the guiding influence, while respectability seems to be sufficient as a final reward. This is pre-eminently an age of artificiality. Instead of the 'straight and narrow path,' easy methods, short cuts, anything to 'get by,' seem to be the rule.

"Reformers, most of whom are seeking only their own glorification, have a panacea for every evil, a cure for every wrong. Their creed is that morals can be legislated into people, which is in direct conflict with the Bible plan of salvation; and the result is that crimes of every character are multiplying, respect for law is passing away, and moral chaos threatens to

engulf the world.

"We are degenerating, under this new regime, into a race of mental pigmies, moral bankrupts, sycophants, and hypocrites — parodies on God's masterpiece, who are swayed by unholy passions, and coerced and controlled by human rewards and human punishments. Verily, as one has eloquently exclaimed, 'If there be a God, be thou His messenger unto men; if there be no God, then have thy unfortunate fellows the more need of thee.'"

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IF I could have entertained the slight. est apprehension that the Constitution framed by the convention where I had the honor to preside might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be 80 administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution .- George Washington.



The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., in which are enshrined the originals of those two great American Documents,— the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States

Judge Perry on "The American Constitution"

THE following excellent address, in part, on the American Constitution was delivered by Judge B. F. Perry before the Ashtabula County (Ohio) Bar Association, at its annual banquet:

"There were nearly one hundred proposals to amend the Constitution of the United States before the last Congress, practically every one of these striking at the basic principles upon which our government is founded. Among these proposed amendments is one which has been sometimes styled 'Congressional Veto of Judicial Decisions,' and it is with reference to this proposed amendment that I desire briefly to challenge your attention.

Since the adoption of the Constitution in 1787, thousands upon thousands of laws have been enseted by the Congress. The Fifty-ninth Congress alone passed 6,750 laws, and yet in the last 137 years only fifty acts have been deleared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. It will thus be seen that this power of the court has been sparingly exercised in the past, and the people in the future may safely trust the charter of their liberties to the watchful keeping of this court, composed, as it always has been, of men of the highest character and standing in their pro-

fession and in the state, for the fact remains that this tribunal has been and now is the greatest court in all the world.

"It is proposed so to amend the Constitution that the Congress may, by re-enacting a statute, make it effective over the decision of the Supreme Court. The First Amendment of the Constitution, and which was adopted practically at the same time, reads as follows:

"'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibit the free exercise thereof; or abridge the freedom of speech or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.'

"Under the proposed change, if the Congress should pass a law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, and the Supreme Court should declare the law unconstitutional, as it would be compelled to do when the question was properly brought before it, the Congress by re-enacting the statute could veto the decision of the Supreme Court and nullify the Constitution itself. In like manner religious freedom, now secured to every citizen by the Constitution, would be at the mercy of Congress. The same thing would be true of every other right secured to the people under the Constitution, from the right of personal lib-

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tual itual erty to that of private property. If this amendment were enacted, it would revolutionize our form of government, and substitute a legislative despotism.

"But why multiply words? the mere statement of the case is sufficient in this presence. All that I have said, you know better than I can tell you. But what about the great mass of the people in our country, who are not learned in the law, who look to you for guidance in such matters? The point I am seeking to make is this, that we, as members of the legal profession, owe it to our neighbors, to posterity, and to ourselves, to enlighten the people of our respective communities relative to this attack which the radicals are making upon the Constitution, for if the people fail to appreciate the danger, some one or more of these amendments may be passed, and the awakening come too late."

We are in full accord with the foregoing sentiments. This proposed amendment to subordinate the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States concerning Constitutional questions to the will of Congress, is still pending before that body. If this amendment should become a law, it would make Congress

supreme not only in the legislative, but in the judicial and executive departments of our Government, without having any check upon its powers. It could destroy the Constitution itself by overriding every barrier that instrument has placed

upon the legislative branch of our Government. It would subject the Constitution to an attack which might mean its complete annihilation. The Constitution would become a political football for political parties to kick about every four years. A change of party politics would mean a change of our Constitution.

Our forefathers saw this danger, and placed the Constitution above politics. They also recognized that every citizen of the United States possesses certain

natural, God-given, inalienable rights, which are not within the province of any lawmaking body to grant or to take away, and therefore they placed definite limits upon the power of Congress in the fundamental law, and clothed the highest judicial court with Constitutional authority to safeguard these Constitutional rights when they are assailed by ill-advised and factional legislation.

This amendment would not only enable Congress to nullify every Constitutional guaranty of civil and religious liberty and the property rights of citizens, but it would enable Congress to perpetuate its own existence as the English Parliament once did for a period of seven years, without recourse to the electorate. It would take out of the bands of the highest judicial authority of trained legal minds, the decision of legal questions of the greatest import, and place the decision of these technical legal questions in the hands of a body of unprofessional men, inexperienced in

who might be elected to Con-

gress.

A particular church organization might become so numerous as to elect its own members to Congress, and thus pass a law to establish that particular religion as the national reli-

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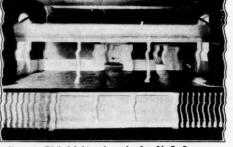
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Room in Philadelphia where the first U. S. Supreme

gion; and if the Supreme Court declared this act unconstitutional and in violation of the First Amendment, Congress could still pass this law and make it effective in spite of the Constitutional prohibitions.

The Supreme Court of the United States has been the protector and preserver of our Constitution, and the defender of our individual rights under the Constitution in the past, and so let it continue to be.



Under the proposed District Sunday Law, this man laboring in his own garden on Sunday, would be a criminal, subject for the first offense to fine of fifty dollars, or if the offense were repeated, to possible imprisonment for six months.

Drastic Sunday Law Before Congress

N order that the many readers of the LIBERTY mag-

Threatens Overthrow of Religious Freedom

azine may know the dangerous character of the compulsory Sunday observance bill now pending in the United States Senate, we not only present herewith the entire text of the Jones Sunday Bill (Senate No. 3218), but an analysis of this drastic measure, so that every lover of liberty may raise his voice in protest against this un-American proposal to enact a religious dogma into civil law and enforce it by the power of the civil magistrate.

It is high time that the American people take alarm at these ecclesiastical encroachments and intrusions by legislation upon the Constitutional guaranties of religious freedom and the rights of conscience in matters of religious concern.

There is a right way and a wrong way of fostering and encouraging religious obligations, and the Jones compulsory Sunday bill is emphatically the wrong method.

Text of the Jones Sunday Bill

"A BILL

"To secure Sunday as a day of rest in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful in the District of Columbia for any person to labor or for any person, firm, corporation, or any of

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Adapted from Columbus " Dispatch "

their agents, directors, or officers to employ any person to labor or to pursue any trade or secular business on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, works of necessity and charity always excepted.

"Sec. 2. That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful in the District of Columbia to keep open or use for secular or commercial purposes any dancing saloon, theater, bowling alley, or any other place of public assembly, or to engage in commercialized sports or amusements on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday.

"Sec. 3. That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful in the District of Columbia for any person, firm, corporation, or any of their agents, directors, or officers to require or permit any employee or employees engaged in works of necessity excepting household or hotel service, to work on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, unless within the next six succeeding days during a period of twenty-four consecutive hours such employee shall neither require nor permit such employee or employees to work in his or its employ.

"Sec. 4. That any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this Act shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than \$5 nor more than \$50 for the first offense, and for each subsequent offense by a Americans believe in reforms, and have made many since our forefathers first came to these shores; but they want to know that each measure proposed is a genuine reform, and not a return to medievalism or a plunge into the famuicism of a legally enforced blue Sunday. They draw the line at state-enforced religious dogma.

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fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$500, or by both fine and imprisonment in the jail of the District of Columbia for a period of not less than one month nor more than six months, in the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 5. Any person who from conscientious conviction observes another day of the week as holy time and who uniformly does not labor any part of such day may not be prosecuted for individual work or labor on the first day of the week, provided such work is performed in such a way as not to interrupt or disturb the repose and religious liberty of the community; but he may not employ any labor or conduct any business which is in violation of the provisions of the foregoing sections.

"Sec. 6. That all prosecutions for the violation of this Act shall be in the police court of the District of Columbia."

We learned upon reliable authority that the Lord's Day Alliance framed this bill, with the exception of Section 5, which Senator Jones says he insisted would have to be inserted or he would refuse to introduce the bill. We were glad to know that Senator Jones entertained a kindly spirit toward the Sabbatarians, and at least made an effort to protect them in this matter.

Dr. Bowlby, the secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance, who assisted in the framing of the bill and was one of the signatories of the petition which was attached to the bill, was very much opposed to granting an exemption in the bill to those who conscientiously observe another day than Sunday as sacred time.

"To be perfectly frank," said Mr. Bowlby to the New York correspondent of the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia) concerning an inquiry as to how those

would fare who observe another day than Sunday as the Sabbath, "they will have to conform to the laws if we succeed. The Jew will have to observe our sabbath. It will work no hardship for him to attend his synagogue on the same day we attend our churches." Likewise the Seventh-day Adventists and the Seventh Day Baptists would be compelled to observe Sunday and surrender their day of worship, if this Sunday measure is placed upon the Federal statute books.

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nt a) This Sunday bill really does not provide an exemption for those who observe another day than Sunday for the Sabbath, but merely a defense. It subjects every seventh-day Sabbatarian to prosecution under the law, and he must suffer the expense of a court trial to prove that he observes another day than Sunday on conscientious grounds. This is exactly the way that the existing Sunday laws with similar exemption clauses operate.

This exemption clause proves the religious character of the bill beyond the shadow of a doubt. Why introduce the religious element of "holy time," and the "conscientious conviction" of those of a divergent religious faith, and the Bible term "the Lord's day," if it is purely a secular measure, designed merely to secure a weekly period of rest? These very expressions show clearly that they are dealing with religious phrases and religious obligations, on a religious basis. This bill deals with the religious "conscientious convictions" of dissenting sects who observe different days as "holy time," and gives legal sanction and support to those who observe the first day of the week, while placing a penalty upon the faith of those who observe "another day of the week as holy time," by compelling them to stand trial and prove that they actually did observe with "conscientious conviction" that other day as "holy time," and that they did "uniformly" refrain from "labor on any part of such day."

Here again the courts have denied the benefits of this exemption clause, because the seventh-day Sabbatarian begins the Bible Sabbath at sunset instead of midnight, and so the courts have ruled in many cases in the States that the seventh-day Sabbatarian is not entitled to enjoy the protection of this exemption clause, since he does not keep his reli-

(Continued on page 24)



Adapted from Springfield "Republican"

The child's plea, "Won't you please speak to her about it?" should meet a prompt response; and with the index finger upon the First Amendment to the national Constitution, our legislators should read to the blue Sunday law fanatic, the words, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."



THE STATE

CHRIST AND THE TRIBUTE MONEY

THE CHURCH

"Render therefore unto Casar the things which are Casar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

The Political Preachers Turned Down

HE Chicago Tribune of Nov. 9, 1924, has an interesting editorial on the outcome of the campaign of the churches, or rather the political preachers, in politics. The political preachers and churches involved in this political campaign camouflaged their religious organization by calling it "The Better Government Association." They hoped to deceive the public by hiding their religious character in this way. Their object was to elect a man of their own religious brand who would carry out the wishes of certain churches in political matters. The following editorial in the Chicago Tribune is right to the point:

"The Better Government Association ran Hope Thompson for State's attorney. The Better Government Association is a name back of which are some professional zealots. The campaign was totally discredited before it came to its end, and its end was almost ignominious. This association was an organized raid of church on politics.

"The Tribune has the greatest regard for the church, but not for the church in politics. It is a fundamental part of our government to separate the two. The political conscience of the people ought not to be in the church, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. If the one tries to elect a State's attorney, it is just as bad as if the other tries to defeat the child labor amendment to the Constitution.

"A minister has a particular training. It is in theology. He has a particular mission. It is as the interpreter of the spiritual life. He is a part of the most solemn forms of life. He christens the child. He says the words which unite the young man and the young woman in marriage. He says the words with which the dead are buried and the living are comforted.

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"Birth, marriage, and death are the great periods in life, and at each the spiritual mentor is needed. The theology in which a minister is trained is special training for these supreme events. It is a self-sacrificing and necessary service to mankind. Worldly rewards are outside its domain. They are outside of its conception.

"There are thousands upon thousands of clergymen devoted to this service. They work for rightcousness, and are unknown beyond their parish. Their names are never in the newspapers. We in the newspaper business incline toward the clergyman who goes outside his special training and his special service. The ministerial faces and words which are

familiar to the people of Chicago, are those of ministers who have entered a large field of activities for which they were not trained.

"That is our disservice to the clergy. We always portray to the people the ministers who are most active in the fields in which they know the least. It is as if we constantly sought the advice of an electrician on a question relating to the Near East, as if we always asked a chemist what he thought of the League of Nations, or a physician what he thought of plumbing.

"People know that the church has tried temporal power all through history, and that the progress of the human race has been away from the political control of the church. Therefore when the minister enters politics, the instinct of people is to feel that the church is trying again to assert itself over the temporal control which has been found necessary to the political freedom of mankind.

"This impression of the minister undermines the strength of the ministry, and it is created by the political preacher who is the creation of the newspaper. It is not created by the real regiments of the church. There is need of both more and less of the Puritan in American life. There is need of his real character, of his self-respect, and his scrupulous honesty. These are elements of his strength, and American needs them. It does not need the weakness of Puritan intolerance. It does not need a revival of the Massachusetts theoracy."

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Labor Union Opposed to the Jones Sunday Bill

THE claim is made by the Lord's Day Alliance, which is sponsoring the Jones Sunday Bill, that this particular Sunday bill, S. 3218, was introduced for the benefit of the working man. But now the leading labor organization—the Washington Central Labor Union of the District of Columbia, with a membership of 65,000—comes out openly and opposes the enactment of this bill into law, and resents the assistance of the Lord's Day Alliance along these lines. The secretary of this labor union sent the editor of Liberty the following letter opposing this measure:

"Inclosed you will find a copy of a bill now pending in Congress, introduced by the Hon. Wesley L. Jones, Senator from the State of Washington, which you may see from reading of same that it is very drastic in its provisions. It is being urged by the Lord's Day Alliance, and has for its chief purpose the closing of all places of amusement on Sundays in the District of Columbia.

"The Washington Central Labor Union, representing 65,000 members of organized labor, has gone on record as being opposed to this kind of legislation, and this bill in particular. Some of the reasons advanced for this opposition are: That it interferes with the personal liberties of the people; that the customs of the people who have enjoyed this recreation for years will be seriously affected; that there are so many residents of the District without homes of their own that it is quite a relief to spend a few hours on Sunday enjoying innocent, enjoyable, and in most instances educational recreational amusement; that the opening hours of these places of amusement are such as to enable all those who desire to worship at church an opportunity to do so; that you cannot by legislation make people go to church unless they are so minded. These are but a few of the more poignant reasons as advanced by our delegates."

We are glad to see that the laboring man does his own thinking. now and then some reformer poses as the special champion of labor, and claims that the laboring man is abused and needs a defender of his rights. Before the recent election some of these men claimed that they could deliver "the labor vote." But the labor organization replied: "The man who says he can deliver the 'labor vote' is a crook, and the man who believes it is a fool." The election returns proved that each laboring man did his own thinking. It appears also that if Dr. Bowlby thinks he can do the thinking for the laboring man as to how he is to spend his Sundays, he has another think coming.

The Washington Post gives the following interesting news item relative to the attitude of the Chamber of Commerce of the District of Columbia on the Jones Sunday Bill:

"The directors unanimously went on record opposing the enactment by Congress of the Jones Sunday closing bill, which would prohibit all but 'necessary' employment in the District on Sunday, and would close down all places of amusement in Washington on the first day of the week."

The members of the Chamber of Commerce are evidently doing their own thinking.



"Parents generally in the evening either held family prayers, or at least read the Scriptures."

Legal Religion Has Superseded Personal Religion

THE Spartanburg Herald calls attention to the fact that a legal religion cannot take the place of a personal religion, nor can it correct present-day evils. The Herald says:

"Before the jazz, motor, and movie age swept round and took hold of the hearts and imaginations of the greater part of mankind, the home and the home circle meant more to the average man, woman, and child. Parents generally in the evening either held family prayers, or at least read the Scriptures, and topics of translity and spiritual matters were discussed and studied. Now the old order changeth, and a new generation has arisen that knows not Joseph.

"Confronted with the issue of enforcing 'Sunday laws' on the statute books, the city council takes the position that such laws should be enforced, if enforced at all, by the county officials. The situation is a delicate one. Just what 'the Lord of the Sabbath'

would say and do in times like the present and under existing conditions, no finite creature can say with authority. th

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"After all, the observance of the Lord's day must come from the individual and the heart of the individual. Legislation cannot enforce moral laws effectively, any more than a thief can be made an honest man by statute. It is easy to comment and criticize and vociferate, but the individual in the final analysis must take home to his or her heart and conscience the command that has come down through the ages, and which is as binding today as when Moses wrote it on the tables of stone: 'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.'"

The Herald also published a statement from Rev. S. T. Hallman, who said that "the Puritan fathers went to an extreme in the seventeenth century" by substituting "the legalistic idea" for "that of supreme devotion." "Their

New Haven code went so far as to say, 'Profanation of the Lord's day shall be punished by fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment.' These extremes led rather to a profanation of the day than to its proper observance."

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Sunday Enforcement by Law

N looking over some old clippings today, I find a most interesting editorial from the pen of a wellknown author and editor. Charles M. Sheldon. It is found in the Christian Herald of Dec. 8, 1920. The principles set forth are so general that they apply at all times and everywhere. We wish to commend them to all those who are trying to work religious reforms by law, and who are forgetting that all moral reforms must spring from a sincere desire of the soul. Legislation may reveal the fact that such a moral reform has taken place, but legislation will not bring about such a moral or soul reform. Mr. Sheldon says:

"It has been widely published that there is in prospect a general movement throughout the country for the purpose of protecting the Lord's day from being devoted to sports and pastimes. Never before has there been such an outbreak of Sabbath desecration as now prevails.

"In this movement the churches may be expected to take a very vigorous part. It is urged that they have been unwisely tolerant of amusements which have now been spread over all the week days, and at last have invaded the Sabbath, so that multitudes who formerly were regular attendants at worship, while retaining their church relationship, have become absentee members, spending the day in pleasure. It is a common spectacle to see golf, baseball, tennis, and other outdoor sports going on on Sunday with a zest that is unmistakable.

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"It seems to us, however, that legislation is not the first or the only means to be relied upon to restore the American sabbath. We cannot and should not go back to the 'blue laws' of early days. We cannot make men moral by legislation. We can, however, by appeals to the consciousness, first of church members and then of the general public, cause the whole question of Sabbath desecration to be given full con-

"There is only one way to do this thoroughly and lastingly. It is for the church to proclaim, in its teachings, the right and proper attitude of the citizen on the Lord's day. 'Them that

honor Me I will honor; 'and 'Righteousness exalteth a nation,' so says the Scripture in these and other passages. And if we can bring about the recognition of what is due to God, to our children, to the spiritual life of the nation, and to our own best welfare, the end will have been attained."

Mr. Sheldon, in the above-mentioned article, is writing particularly about Sunday legislation. The language is sincerely commended, and it is to be hoped it may be taken to heart by our misguided friends who, it seems, are seeking some other means to secure a better observance of Sunday.

While the Sunday institution lacks altogether any religious value from a Scriptural standpoint, there are those who seem to think otherwise. They are readily granted this privilege, and should be permitted to observe the day. But it is not the prerogative of such people to enforce their religious views upon others. Men have a right to observe or not to observe a day. They have the same right to choose their manner of observing the day of their choice, to be sure, within the bounds of decency. This latter applies to conduct through all the week. An act that is decent on Monday is just as decent on Sunday. No religious reform was ever inaugurated or made paramount by civil legislation. It is true that the writer quoted favors Sunday legislation, but his desired reforms could much better be accomplished by the means set forth in the above-quoted words.

Christian reforms must be accomplished in Christ's way. They cannot be secured by the arm of Cæsar.

"Not by might, nor by power," is God's work to be done.

W. F. M.

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Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.— Amendment I.

BOUT three hundred years ago England enacted some very drastic laws against the Catholics, and in turn, when in power, the Catholic rulers likewise enacted similar laws against the Protestants. Finally these old laws enacted against Catholics were used by the legally established church of England against the Quakers and all nonconformists and dissenters. during the Restoration, between the years 1660 and 1685. During this time more than twelve thousand Friends suffered imprisonment, and more than three hundred died in prison or as a result of the cruel treatment which they received at the hands of the clergy and public officials. Besides this, many were sentenced to deportation and exile in the wilds of

North America and Australia, and thousands of others lost all their property and temporal goods. The Quaker Act of 1662 and the Conventicle Act of 1664 prohibited Quakers and all nonconformists from assembling together in religious meetings in companies greater than four in number, and compelled all nonconformists to attend and support the established religion. The passing of these oppressive religious laws was the signal for violent outbursts of persecution all over England.

Quakers Imprisoned in Newgate

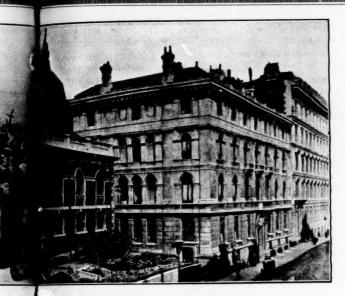
On one Sunday, two hundred thirtytwo Friends were taken from London meetings and sent to Newgate prison. In March, 1665, there were more than three hundred fifty Friends imprisoned in London alone, mostly in Newgate



Burning Bibles at St. Paul's Cross, London, 1527. This not occur and Foreign Bible Society, shown on the right, which, up would It The three societies, the British and Foreign, the Oxford American to the close of 1922, a total of 518% as port

Some European Count The Behind T

prison, awaiting transportation to some foreign C. Sacre land as exiles for their faith. This same thing was going on all over England. The mayor of Bristol, who was also a member of the British Parliament, had been very active in securing the pu sage of the Conventicle Act, and is said to have wept for joy at its passage. He at once begin Georg to put it into effect, and in the remaining the numb months of his tenure of office as mayor, he is nelly i prisoned three hundred forty-seven Quaketer er many of whom he would have banished if the, seamen had not refused to take them. It is "Wif ported that at times the prisons of London and judg Bristol were filled to overflowing with Quakers was a and that the prison of Newgate was transforment he "from a den of thieves to a house of practily This was true to such an extent, it is said, we



1527. The non occupied by the headquarters building of the British which up a need 310,729,340 copies or portions of the Holy Scriptures. he Oxford American Bible Society, had printed and circulated, up al of 518.46 or portions thereof, in 733 languages.

und Three Hundred Years ind Times

at times, many of the prisoners and even some

of the jailers were soundly converted as a result of the Christian influence and the meek and quiet spirit manifested by these long-suffering, ng the pursecuted Quakers, or Friends.

Persecutors Feared the Judgment

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once begal George Fox, the leader of the Quakers, spent ning the number of years in prison, and often was yor, he is welly beaten. One day his jailer, who had been

Quake ey cruel and bitter against him, said to his hed it wife,

It is "Wife, in a dream last night I saw the day ondon and judgment, and I saw George Fox there, and Quaker was afraid of him, because I had done him so ansform with harm."

f practicely the next morning the jailer went to said; "I have been as

a lion against you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the jailer that came to Paul and Silas, trembling." The same day the jailer went to see the judges, and told them that he and his house had been plagued for keeping George Fox a prisoner, and the judges confessed that they had been similarly plagued by a dream of the judgment, and that George Fox appeared before God and condemned them at His bar. So the jailer and the judges gave the prisoner liberty to walk a mile, and suggested that he make his escape, but George Fox told them that he was not of that spirit.

George Fex exhorted his followers "not to forsake the assembling of themselves together;" and in writing from his prison to his ministers, he said: "Now is the time

for you to stand, you that have been public men [that is ministers], and formerly did travel abroad; mind and keep up your testimony, go into your meeting houses as at other times."

Stood Firm for Freedom of Worship

Everywhere the Friends made a firm stand for freedom to worship God, and behaved themselves so bravely and admirably that they won the sympathy and admiration even of many of their enemies. The Quakers seem to have borne the brunt of the conflict among the nonconformists, whereas the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents tried to carry on their worship, and at the same time conform to the law, by arranging and holding their meetings in private houses, with never more than four persons present besides the family. But the Friends felt that a fundamental principle was at stake, and that it would be cowardly and disloyal to God and their conscience to give up their public meetings. Like Daniel of old, they did as they had done "aforetime," in spite of the king's decree. By their firmness they finally won out with the British government, and the English people today are indebted to these martyrs of three centuries ago for the freedom they now enjoy throughout all the British possessions.

Just now the Seventh-day Adventists, the Baptists, and other minority Protestant sects are suffering similar persecutions in Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Jugo-Slavia. In these countries the state church is absolutely supreme, and the state governments are subordinated to the dictates of the clergy. In many instances the civil offices are filled by the priests, and they are determined that the Protestant minorities which are opposed to a legal religion shall not get a foothold in these countries. These Protestant

minorities are forbidden in many places to hold any religious meetings either private or public without permission from the minister of religion, and when application is made for a permit, it is denied. In many districts they are not only forbidden to hold

ciple is involved in this issue, and that they have a God-given, inalienable right to assemble together for divine worship, and to have church buildings of their own, and they are willing to pay the price in order that civil and religious liberty may ultimately prevail for all men in these countries also. At present, these Protestant minorities are suffering all the horrors of the Inquisition of medieval times when the state church burned heretics at the stake.

Whole Churches Imprisoned

Whole churches, including the paster and his membership, are being imprisoned for weeks and months at different times. Frequently these Protestant ministers are beaten into unconsciousness. The colporteur-evangelists who sell Bibles and other religious literature are often mercilessly beaten, imprisoned, and all their Bibles and other books are confiscated and publicly burned. The old laws of medievalism against heretics have been revived, and the local authorities enforce these antiquated laws in spite of the

national constithis in these
different countries, which guarantee full religious liberty
to all sects alike.
The question is
whether these old
laws shall prevail
over the new constitutions.

Many of the civil courts are coming to the rescue of the Prot-



This barn, containing timbers of the "Mayflower,"
was used by the Friends of Buckinghamshire,
England, for a place of worship.

meetings, but are denied the right to hold church properties. The property which they had already acquired in the past is now being confiscated by the local authorities, who refuse to recognize or to be bound by the new and general laws.

Like the Quakers in England three hundred years ago, these Protestant minorities feel that a fundamental prinestant minorities whose rights are protected under the constitutions of these countries, by declaring the old laws unconstitutional. But not infrequently the local authorities, inspired by the priests, take the law into their own hands and enforce their local unconstitutional statutes with the utmost possible severity.



Fallacious Reasoning

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The Protestant churches which are opposed to a union of church and state are the ones that suffer the greatest persecution. The church and state officials of the legal religion reason like this: That it is absolutely necessary for the church and state to be united in order for both of them to exist. That to separate the church and state means the destruction of the government and the annihilation of the church, and consequently such organizations as favor a separation of church and state are enemies to the government and to the legally established church, and should therefore be prevented from getting a foothold in the country.

It is for this reason that the Seventhday Adventists and the Baptists are having to bear the brunt of the conflict in the great struggle for religious liberty in the European countries where the church and state régime is in full swing, with the church hierarchy in the political saddle, holding the reins of the government in its own hands. The writer of this article has just returned from a visit to these countries, where, through a careful investigation, he learned first-hand of the real situation. There is one hopeful outlook that conditions may improve, and that is the rising tide of democracy, and a desire on the part of high court officials to uphold the constitutional guaranties of civil and religious liberty as paramount and fundamental.

The Adventists and the Baptists are now fighting battles in these Eastern European countries for the same principles of religious liberty that the Quakers and Separatists contended for in England three hundred years ago. If the cause of religious liberty triumphs in these Eastern countries which are still in the grip of Orientalism and ecclesiasticism, it will mean that Western progress and civilization will do for these backward countries what it has done for England and America.

Eternal Vigilance the Price of Liberty

By S. B. Horton

HERE are movements in this country, of both open and clandestine character, which would change our form of government. These movements divide into two groups, one of purely civil motive without a scintilla of religious bias or conviction, the other manifesting religious and civil motives with religion as the paramount incentive. Both these movements are most dangerous to original Americanism, for neither proposes to safeguard inalienable rights which our Constitution does. Bolshevistic, Socialistic, and Communistic ideas of government are being propagated in our nation. The judicial branch of our government would be subordinated to another branch if some of these isms should succeed, completely disrupting the safeguarding checks and balances of wholesome government as conceived by a band of patriotic Christians who were evidently guided by the King of the universe, who established and ordained "the powers that be."

Of the two classes of movements we are of the opinion that the religio-political is the more dangerous, because it involves two classes of inalienable rights, civil and religious, the latter being the more important because of the higher relationship. This religio-political class is represented in the National Reform Association, the Lord's Day Alliance, etc., as indicated in their activities which are programed to be the legalizing of the Christian religion in the organic law of the land, the Constitution, by amending or repealing the First Amendment of that organic law, fathered and fostered by the first named of the religiopolitical class. The Lord's Day Alliance stands committed to the enforcement by civil law of the Sunday observance institution, a palpable wrong of twofold significance. Were Sunday observance in harmony with the requirements of Jehovah, it would be wrong for civil government to enforce it, for it would be long to and must be rendered to Him who made it. But as it is admittedly not the Sabbath of God's law, but the creation of ecclesiasticism, to which extent it is a challenge to God's law, the perfidiousness of such Sunday observance enforcement cannot be successfully denied.

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While the separation of church and state is an American doctrine, the attempt has been made to show that Sunday laws come under the police powers of the state or municipality. Courts differ upon the question, which indicates that Sunday legislation is not an exact juridical science. However, the supreme court of Colorado in 1909 handed down a decision which to our mind partly covers the Sunday law question as an un-American interpolation:

"Plaintiff in error was convicted of violating Section 1250 of the Municipal Code of the city and county of Denver. The section is as follows: 'It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation to keep open or conduct any butcher shop, meat market, or grocery store, or to expose or offer for sale or sell any meats, fish, game, poultry, groceries, or provisions on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday.'

"It does not appear that the section, as framed, will promote the peace, welfare, health, or other ends for the promotion of which the police power of the city may be exercised. Upon the authority of Denver vs. Bach, 26 Colorado, 230, and for the reasons there given, the section of the Municipal Code under which plaintiff in e-ror was convicted, is invalid."

In a decision of the Ohio Supreme Court in 1872, on the question of teaching the Bible and religion in the public schools, it was held in part:

Legal Christianity is a solecism, a contradiction of terms. When Christianity asks the aid of government beyond mere impartial protection, it denies itself. Its laws are divine, and not human. Its essential interests lie beyond the reach and range of human governments. United with government, religion never rises above the merest superstition; united with religion, government never rises above the merest despotism; and all history shows us that the more widely and completely they are separated, the better it is for both. . . . Properly speaking, there is no such thing as 'religion of state.' What we mean by that phrase is, the religion of some individual, or set of individuals, taught and enforced by the state. The state can have no religious opinions; and if it undertakes to enforce the teaching of such opinions, they must be the opinions of some natural person, or class of persons. If it embarks in this business, whose opinion shall it adopt? If it adopts the opinions of more than one man, or one class of men, to what extent may it group together conflicting opinions? or may it group together the opinions of all? And where this conflict exists, how thorough will the teaching be? Will it be exhaustive and exact, as it is in elementary literature and in the sciences usually taught to children? and, if not, which of the doctrines or truths claimed by each will be blurred over, and which taught in preference to those in con-

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In these two decisions the justification for the activities of both the National Reform Association, which desires to enforce teaching religion in the public schools, and the Lord's Day Alliance, which desires to compel Sunday observance by civil law, is thrown out of court. But such decisions seem not to deter these religio-political movements, for they are actively at work in many States of this Union, and it becomes the people to heed Patrick Henry's exhortation, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

To our way of thinking, Americanism is the last word in human government. The hope of the world is centered upon the ship of state as built by the founders of America. It may be said that the Revolutionary war made the world safe for democracy, but we submit that loyalty to constitutional government as outlined in the American principles of government and its limitations makes democracy safe for the world. And

may the climax in Bishop Berkeley's verse be blessed with continuity,

"Westward the course of empire takes its way; The four first acts already past,

A fifth shall close the drama with the day: Time's noblest offspring is the last."

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The Worst Enemies of the Gospel

BY H. G. THURSTON

BECAUSE of parentage, education, and environment, men differ in their opinions. In every specific detail, they can never in this world agree perfectly. Yet they are created equal in their natural rights, and the lowliest citizen has every natural right that the mightiest and greatest possess.

If, for the consideration of one millon dollars, any man agrees to sell to another his right of choice to obey God, the seller has not transferred anything, and the buyer has not gained anything; for an inalienable right cannot be alienated. Every one of us must appear "before the judgment seat of Christ" to "give account of himself to God." No man, living or dead, can escape his accountability to his Maker.

No man can be excused from his allegiance to his God. He must not be influenced by inconvenience, nor flattery, nor bribery, nor threat, nor violence, on the part of his fellow men. In confirmation of the responsibility to serve God, the holy author of the Christian religion promised to be with His church even unto the end of time. That the weakest might be assured of success while in His keeping, He declares, "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth."

The followers of Jesus Christ long to see His kingdom prosper. They first give Him their hearts, and then their wealth is willingly laid at His feet for the consummation of His gospel of good will among men.

So strongly has the power of Christ's gospel of love and good will toward all men possessed millions of human hearts, that even life itself is freely laid down for the cause of soul freedom, of which their Lord is the "author and finisher."

The Pilgrim Fathers were willing to leave the land of their nativity to seek on the cold, bleak shores of the New World, freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. They cheerfully braved the hardships of a New England winter among wild Indian tribes, suffering privations, sickness, and death, that they might serve their God as they believed He had commanded them. To them, the right of choice and eternal interests were dearer than temporal comforts and worldly benefits.

The worst foes of the Christian religion are not its avowed enemies. The most bitter persecution and relentless fury are not always found in these. The most seductive and successful destroyers of the sons of God on earth are those who profess the name of Christ, but who exercise a spirit of intolerance and persecution toward those who do not accord with their ideas of religion.

Those who are the worst foes of the gospel of the Son of God are such as seek to advance the church by worldly means, and do not rely solely upon the all-powerful word and the "meek and quiet

spirit" of their Lord.

Such, when asked for a "Thus saith the Lord" for their course, fail to find it. They contend that numbers and influence and political advantage are weapons to be used by the church in these days. If they do not openly profess to adopt these, yet carnal weapons are their mightiest and ever-present argument. By these they seem confident of ultimate success in establishing the gospel of the dominion of Him who said, " My kingdom is not of this world."

The hope of the world today is the gospel, just as it was nineteen hundred years ago. God has not changed. Men must receive the gospel as they did in the days of the apostles. Eternal life is the pearl of great price. Those who find it, must fully surrender to Christ the Life-giver, as did men in the time of His earthly ministry. All must receive the gospel as did the dying thief upon Calvary, or not get it at all. It does not consist in a multitude of ceremonies and external exactions. The gospel, like the leaven hid in the meal. works a transformation in the heart and life of the receiver. It makes him courteous, loving, and lovable.

The worst foes of the gospel of Christ Jesus, place wealth, majorities, and influence above the rights of the individ-Their conception of religious liberty is that a minority may be tolerated so long as they keep quiet, and do not interfere with the religio-political ideas of these professors of Christ; but they often rage and threaten when confronted with a commandment of Jehovah, or a rebuke uttered by their Lord Jesus. How can such hope to win against those who love and obey Him?

The greatest political document ever framed by man,- the United States Constitution,— is great because so far as the nation and its laws are concerned it recognizes, guards, and guarantees to the individual the inalienable right of choice in his religion. In this there must be no interference. The least interference in this question destroys true religious freedom. This is true Americanism.

The conscientious man seldom interferes with the equal rights of his neighbor although they may differ widely in religious belief. The man who is made just, by faith through the holy life, victory, and sacrifice of the Son of man, regards the exercise of the equal rights of his fellows as too dear and sacred to be hampered by fines or imprisonment. The man who is not made righteous by faith, but trusts in his own efforts for salvation, is the one who persecutes.

The great apostle Paul gave instruction against the church's ever judging the non-Sabbath keeper and the unbeliever. "What have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within? But them that are without God judgeth." 1 Cor. 5:12, 13.

We agree that the church needs more Not more civil power made effective by fines and imprisonment, and torture and death. The church does

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If the religious bodies now professing the name of Christ in America shall adopt the Cain-like course in their attempt to enforce their doctrines upon men by civil laws; if the church shall take the last step away from her Lord, and secure the enactment of national laws to force men to observe the day she has chosen for her sabbath, the limit of her course will be reached. Her power for good will be forfeited forever; and then the solemn alarm will be sounded around the world, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen." And from heaven will be heard a voice saying, "Come out of her, My people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hatn vemembered her iniquities."

Stop, Look, Listen! Danger Ahead!

By William M. Healey

Stop, Look, Listen!" not because of danger at a railroad crossing, but for the greatest danger that ever threatened the American people. Because the United States was founded upon the principles of liberty and equal rights, it has in 146 years grown from a few feeble colonies to be the leading government of the world.

At the beginning it declared, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

It is the province of civil laws to define and secure the rights of man with men. Such laws should be clear, harmonious, and of universal application.

Religion is not a matter between man and man, but is a personal relation between each individual and God. If there were as many religious systems as there are persons, it would be wholly with God to decide which was right, and to punish or reward accordingly. Religion is no more a matter for civil legislation than the number of hairs to be grown on one's head. Legislators might differ widely.

It is this individual relation to God, this personal power of choice, that distinguishes man from the lower animals, and when this choice is taken from him, and religion is forced upon him by law, his manly power of choice, the foundation of self-government, is weakened, and in time destroyed. For example, see Russia, where the people were for many years dominated by the civil law in their religion, until they have become practically incapable of self-government.

A work is going on in the United States, which, if unchecked, will destroy every semblance of its religious liberty. The promoters of this work had three bills pending in Congress, each demanding a law for the observance of Sunday as a day of rest. This is in opposition to Article I of Constitutional Amendments, which reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Any State interference with this right is prohibited by Article IV, Section 1: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

If any legislative body has authority to enforce the observance of any particular day, it must decide which is the right day to be observed. There being different views upon this point of the right day, a change in the legislative body might change the day allotted for rest. If God sanctions the first act, He

will be obliged to sanction the act of the same authority in changing the day. This would make God depend on the will, or opinion, of the legislative body of men to determine which is, at any given

time, the right day to keep.

If it is the legitimate work of civil government to decide religious controversies in any case, then it belongs to it to decide in all such cases, and as the servant of the people it would be in duty bound to determine if Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Judaism, or some other of the many isms was right, or if we should reject them all. One legislative body might give us Christian Science, another Theosophy, or Spiritualism, or Christianity, and force it upon us by law, having decided that it was the true religion.

In such an uncertainty, Sunday might get lost altogether. Any enforced observance of rest on Sunday, works a hardship on those who observe another day. Cooley's "Constitutional Limitations," chapter 13, paragraphs 1-9, reads:

"The legislators have not been left at liberty to effect a union of church and state, or to establish preferences by law in favor of any religion or mode of worship. There is not complete religious liberty where any one sect is favored by the state and given advantage by law over other sects. Whatever establishes a distinction against one class or sect is, to the extent to which the distinction operates unfavorably, a persecution; and if based on religious grounds, a religious persecution. The extent of the discrimination is not material to the principle; it is enough that it creates an inequality of right or privilege."

It is sometimes claimed that it is not the intent to make a religious law, but to supply a demand of nature for one day a week in which to rest.

Nature has her own law in which it demands rest, not on a particular day, but when one is weary, and she knows how to execute her penalty on those who refuse to obey her demands.

How could this Sunday rest apply to the man who has been idle all the week, for lack of work, and only gets a job on

Sunday?

Sunday is a religious institution, observed as such by resting on it, and a law demanding such rest is a law sustaining and enforcing a religious institution. Safety consists in protection against the acts of an insane man, regardless of what his intent may be.

The Sunday law advocate, speaking from a business point of view, says, "I will not permit you to work more days than I want to, and if you do and so get more money than I do, I will take

some of it away by fines."

We expect but little regard for right from what we call the criminal class. Are the courts and officers of the law failing us? Worst of all, if the church be deceived into using its influence, through a Sunday law, to destroy the last vestige of individual rights. If all good citizens, whether religious or not, would demand, and give aid to, the better enforcement of good civil laws for the protection of life, liberty, and home, it would be a service of inestimable value to humanity.

Teach religion freely, openly, to all. Enforce it upon none.

Drastic Sunday Law Before Congress

(Continued from page 11)

gious day in harmony with the civil day. Such a law not only seeks to regulate religious customs, but interferes with the free exercise of religion, which is so clearly guaranteed under the First Amendment of the Constitution.

This compulsory Sunday observance bill, if enacted into Federal law and enforced, would both establish a religious custom by law, and interfere with the free exercise of religion. Such a Congressional act would openly and defiantly override the Constitutional guaranties of religious liberty in America.

Drastic and Intolerant in Scope

Here is a partial list of all the things this drastic Sunday measure would prohibit if the letter of the law should be rigidly enforced:

It would make it a crime to prepare, print, or sell newspapers on Sunday. It wou earl fork new tors pres

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Office of the International Reform Bureau, headquarters of one of the religious lobbies operating in Washington, in the interest of Sunday laws.

would prevent the preparation of the early Monday morning newspapers, by forbidding the Sunday night labor of newspaper reporters, telegraph operators, photographers, linotype operators, pressmen, and all others connected with the newspaper work. It would stop all radio broadcasting operators and singers for "mere entertainment," all unnecessary telephone calls and telegrams, all unnecessary street car service, passenger and freight service, automobiles, taxicabs, garages, gasoline filling stations, in fact, every public service convenience when employed for the comfort and mere recreation of individuals. It would prevent the operation of ice plants or the delivery of ice on Sunday. elevator service would be stopped, all drug stores, delicatessens, and restaurants would be closed under the provisions of this drastic law. On a hot Sunday it would be impossible to obtain ice cream or soft drinks, candy, popcorn, biscuits, bread, or peanuts. Fruit stands, milk depots, barber shops, and shoe-shining parlors would all be closed. No flowers could be purchased for friends, funerals, or weddings, because

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re, It the florists would have to shut up their shops that day. All "commercial sports and amusements" as well as "theaters" are expressly forbidden. No building nor "ary other place of public assembly" can lawfully "keep open" or be used "for secular or commercial purposes."

Think of it! No building or assembly hall can be used on Sunday for a "secular purpose." This in itself is sufficient evidence to put the stamp of religious legislation upon this bill. Such a clause would prohibit all scientific, historical, philosophical, educational, and musical programs of a "secular" nature. It would close all libraries, museums, and societies other than religious organizations. It would close all bathing beaches, swimming pools, boathouses, and amusement parks. The public would be shut out of the beautiful Rock Creek Park, the Zoological Gardens, and the automobile drives through the parks would be padlocked as verily as the public highways were in the days of the Puritans. The gasoline launches and steamboats could not leave the docks to sail down the beautiful Potomac on Sundays.

If this proposed law should be held to apply to all United States territory, the President of the United States could no longer sail down the Potomac on Sunday in the "Mayflower," to enjoy an outing with his family and return refreshed for the arduous duties awaiting him on Monday morning. This bill prevents a man from working in his garden or raking his yard or mowing his lawn on Sunday. He could not even dig a mess of potatoes out of his garden on that day.

This bill, if it were enacted, would also prevent the delivery of special mail and telegrams. It would close all real estate and sight-seeing offices, and would stop all bus lines. It would prohibit all unnecessary work, business, recreation, and amusement on the first day of the week, entering into even the personal and private affairs of the home as well as public affairs. It would prevent even the playing of the piano or the singing of songs of a secular character, if strictly construed by a bigoted magistrate, as is frequently done where similar laws prevail. Even the church choirs and orchestras, the organists and vocalists who play and sing for pay, might come under the ban. Certainly an organist or soloist who receives from \$25 to \$50 for playing or singing at one service to entertain the audience in the church with popular music, could be classed with "commercialized" entertainers.

We have mentioned only a few among the multitude of secular activities that would be prohibited if this drastic Sunday bill were enacted into law. Lord's Day Alliance has let it be known that this bill, if enacted for the District of Columbia, is to become a model law for the whole nation. Dr. Bowlby and his coworkers are now carrying on a campaign in the churches throughout America, securing petitions to send in to influence Congressmen to pass this religious Sunday blue law. Dr. Bowlby says that he and his organization will "by legislation make it easier for people to go to church" on Sunday. He is quoted by the Public Ledger of Philadelphia as saying:

"If we take away a man's motor car, his golf sticks, his Sunday newspapers, his horses, his pleasure steamships, amusement houses and parks, and prohibit him from playing outdoor games, or witnessing field sports, he naturally will drift back to church."

If Dr. Bowlby should advocate a law compelling all people to attend church on Sunday irrespective of religious faith. he would find a very small minority outside of his own organization that would vote for his law of compulsory church attendance. But this is exactly what he seeks to accomplish by indirect legislation. A law which aims to accomplish by indirect means what it is impossible to achieve directly and openly, is offensive and vicious legislation, because of its deception and subtlety by concealing the real issue involved. The issue involved in this bill is to make people go to church on Sunday by law, as in the early days of colonial New England under the Puritan rule.

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Such oppressive and intolerant religious laws as this proposed measure, should arouse to active opposition every liberty-loving American, and cause him to raise his voice and use his pen in protest against these unwarranted encroachments upon his rights of conscience and the religious freedom he now enjoys under our Constitution.

If you want a petition of protest to voice your sentiments and to obtain signatures among your friends, write us and we will be glad to send you the needed ammunition. The maintenance of liberty, even in this favored country, demands eternal vigilance. C. S. L.

Soft-Pedaling the Doctrine of Church and State

A MONG the current books is one by C. A. Ellwood, entitled, "The Reconstruction of Religion."

The nature of the contemplated "reconstruction," the idea of which gave rise to the writing of the work, is sufficiently indicated by this short quotation from the book itself:

"It must be evident to all who desire a Christian world, that if such a world is ever to become a reality, the church, animated by the true spirit of Christianity, must assume the moral leadership of the opinion of mankind. A Christian society, we have seen, cannot be realized by merely developing Christian character in individuals. That has been a mistaken idea of the Protestant church. 'No individual,' says one of the profounder social thinkers of the present, 'can change the disorder and iniquity of this world. No chaotic mass of men and women can do it.' Such change can come only through public opinion, organized popular will, and social control. The transition from non-Christian society, then, to Christian society can only be effected by the formation and guidance of an effective public opinion which shall express itself in an appropriate mode of social control, because that is the only mechanism through which conscious social changes are effeeted in human society."

In other words, the world can be made Christian only by first creating Christian public opinion; and then second, by crystallizing that Christian public opinion into "an appropriate mode of social control," or in other words, into appropriate civil law, "because that is the only mechanism through which conscious social changes are effected in human society."

This thought is further emphasized by the author of the book in these words:

"Individual education, individual conversion, individual repentance, and the whole development of the individual Christian character are, of course, necessary foundations; but if the church desires a Christian world, it must have a vision of its work beyond these fundamentals. It must see that its higher work is the creation of public conscience—that is, an effective public opinion—regarding the condi-

tions under which men and groups of men live together. It is only thus that a Christian world can come into being."

And so while "individual conversion, individual repentance, and the whole development of individual Christian character" are good, the "higher work" of the church is to create, and by "an apprepriate mode of social control," or in other words, by appropriate civil laws, to enforce upon all the units of society that public opinion!

Our author seems perfectly sure of his ground, for he says:

"There can be no doubt about the power of public opinion to make a Christian society, and ultimately a Christian world; the only doubt is, as to whether the Christian church will use its opportunities to make, guide, and control public opinion. Probably no one would claim that there has been much organized effort on the part of Protestant churches in the United States in the past to guide and control public opinion, unless it be along a few lines, like the suppression of the liquor traffic. Yet this is exactly what all Christian churches must undertake if there is ever to be a Christian world. They must go into the business of creating an effective public conscience regarding all relations of individuals, classes, nations, and races. The cry of the world is for Christian churches to go into this business at once. If the world is to be saved for Christianity, the churches must soon become more effectively organized for the guidance and control of public opinion. Only thus can a Christian environment be created for the nurture of Christian character.'

And here we have the original National Reform church-and-state idea. In the Pittsburgh National Reform Convention of 1874, Prof. A. C. Blanchard said:

"Constitutional laws punish for false money, weights, and measures, and, of course, Congress establishes a standard for money, weight, and measure. So Congress must establish a standard religion or admit anything called religion."

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of governmental control of religion is sugar-coated by the phrase, "an appropriate mode of social control." It has been said that "a rose by another name would smell as sweet," and it is equally true that a skunk by any other name would smell as rank.

No matter by what name it is known, there is grave danger to freedom of conscience in the insistence that the churches must organize and federate, not only to create, but to enforce "an effective public opinion." Ninety-four years ago a committee of the United States Senate saw this danger, and warned against it in these words:

"Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of the kind [in behalf of a national Sunday law] calls for the establishment of a principle which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution, and upon the religious rights of the citizens. If admitted, it may be justly apprehended that the future measures of the Government will be strongly marked, if not eventually controlled, by the same influence. All religious despotism com-

mences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequence."

The warning is needed much more today than it was then, and should be

heeded now as it was then.

It is a great mistake to suppose that it is the cry of the world "for the Christian churches to go into the business at once," or at all. There is no such erv. except on the part of certain religious leaders who, realizing their lack of spiritual power, would supply their need, not by supplicating Heaven, not by turning to Christ, but by an appeal to Cæsar. They have forgotten the divine counsel, "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." But even though would-be leaders may forget, even the humblest believer should remember and act upon the injunction of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

News and Comment

Washington and Michigan Vote Against Intolerance

HE citizens of the States of Washington and Michigan emphatically registered their disapproval, on election day, of the intolerant, un-American, anti-private school amendments which were submitted to them. The school amendment to compel all private and church schools of the first eight grades to be closed, was defeated in the State of Washington by a majority of five to three, and in Michigan, a similar measure was defeated by a majority of two to one.

These decisive victories for educational freedom by overwhelming majorities, after both sides of the argument were presented, are a splendid testimonial to the American spirit of essential justice,

equal liberty, and fair play. The triumph and glory of the outcome of the campaigns in both States belong to the sterling Americanism of the citizens of every creed and every class.

The results in this election, on this issue, are a stern rebuke to the religious bigotry and spirit of intolerance which sought to hoist the banner of tyranny over the American citadel of religious liberty and individuality in religious matters. The issue involved was of vital importance to every American citizen, because these school amendments aimed to give the State absolute power over the most cherished rights of its citizens.

The rights which the individual citizen now enjoys under the State and Federal constitutions would have been subordinated to the arbitrary authority of the State if these amendments had been enAme fighting to our sacrius as

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acted into law. In the judgment of a true American, there is no compensation that can take the place of his inalienable rights, which are now vouchsafed to him under our Magna Charta of human liberty. The greatest boon among all our temporal blessings is the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; and the next greatest satisfaction that can come to an American is the consciousness that he is fighting for it, and has a part in preserving the ideals of true Americanism which our forefathers purchased for us by the sacrifice of their lives and bequeathed to us as an enduring inheritance. All of us who fought to maintain these rights feel that we have been amply rewarded in the vindication the American people gave the cause of individual freedom, individual initiative, and individual progress in the triumph of the electorate over the rule of force in matters where the Creator has made the conscience supreme.

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Mixing Religion and Politics

THE Journal Telephone (Milton, Wis.) of Sept. 11, 1924, tells us that Fred R. Zimmerman, secretary of state of Wisconsin, made a strong plea for Sunday observance legislation before the Methodist Conference." Mr. Zimmerman is quoted as saying:

"The matter of legislation is neglected by our churches. A strong lobby for the church is just as permissible as a lobby for business interests."

It is reported that the Methodist Conference vigorously applauded this statement of the secretary of state of Wisconsin in behalf of compulsory Sunday observance. This statement provoked an editorial from the paper alluded to above, as follows:

"Fred R. Zimmerman, secretary of state, advocated a strong lobby for the church in our legislative halls, in a recent speech before a religious conference, and says it is just as permissible as a lobby for business interests. He urged legislation favoring Sunday observance. Sounds like some one is trying to meddle with the guaranty of the Constitution of the United States which has served us for nearly one hundred fifty years without becoming antiquated.

"He could have given better advice by suggesting a strong lobby before the throne of God, where it would receive the admonition that people have never been legislated into Christianity."

It is not the prerogative of public officials to appear before ecclesiastical bodies and urge them to use their church organization to lobby legislators in behalf of sectarian legislation and religious customs. This is the worst kind of mixture of religion and politics. The church as such has no business in politics, and public officials should treat with equal silence the recognition of every religion. It is an abuse of a public trust for a public official to use his official prestige to advance by law his own peculiar ideas about religious customs, to the detriment of divergent sects.

In his official capacity the civil magistrate should know no religion but the religion of human kindness, justice, and equality of citizens before the law. The infidel, the Mohammedan, and the Christian should feel assured that the public official is his impartial friend in the administration of civil law and essential justice.

We are surprised that the Methodist Conference should applaud such an un-American and anti-Christian scheme as the church lobbying in the halls of Cæsar in behalf of religious laws. We are sure that John Wesley would have frowned upon such an unholy alliance with the state.

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"The District's Impending Fate"

THE Washington Post of Oct. 30, 1924, under the above caption, reprinted the following interesting editorial from the Baltimore Sun:

"In explaining the plan of the Lord's Day Alliance to create a Cotton Mather Sunday in the District of Columbia by means of the Jones bill, the general secretary, Dr. Bowlby, graciously points out that there is no intention to compel a n.an or woman to attend church. But he and his associates 'believe that if we take away a man's motor car, his golf sticks, his Sunday newspapers, his horses, his pleasure steamships, amusement houses and parks, and

prohibit him from playing outdoor games, or witnessing field sports, he naturally will drift back to church.

"One other thing Dr. Bowlby would have to take away, if the victims of his Sunday law are to 'drift back to church,' and that is their human nature."

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Keeping the Sabbath Holy by Law

OVED by the Sunday theater controversy, a correspondent writes to tell us that we are "foolish to waste time, money, paper and ink, and energy in trying to get your readers to think that the reformers are working to take the sun out of Sunday."

We are not trying to make our readers think anything of the kind. Our readers do their own thinking on this subject, and anything we say is merely a reflection of the thoughts of a very large number of them.

Our correspondent cites the commandment about the Sabbath. We don't quarrel with that. He says "religion is the only force that will compel everybody" to keep the Sabbath day holy. Neither do we quarrel with that view.

But he says "the reformers are working and will fight to get a law that will make Sunday the nation's day of rest." We do quarrel with that. Such a law wouldn't achieve the "holy" purpose of the reformers.

In this country every person has the right to accept or reject any religious faith, according to the dictates of his own conscience. Any law which would trample upon that right, is bad. We believe Sunday blue laws are of that kind.—New York City Dai'y News.

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Short-Sightedness of Sunday Legalists

HE St. Louis Post-Dispatch of Nov. 1, 1924, makes the following interesting comments in an editorial upon Dr. Bowlby's attempt to compel people to go to church by law, and the use of indirect means:

"Having failed of their object in New Jersey, where they sought to indict several thou sand persons for breaking an ancient blue law, the Lord's Day Alliance, under the direction of Rev. Dr. Bowlby, is moving on the District of Columbia, with a comprehensive measure, known as the Jones bill, the object of which is to create what the Baltimore Sun calls a Cotton Mather Sunday in the District.

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"Those who have had experience know, and history proves, that the best way to create an antagonism to churchgoing is to punish those who do not go to church. And the punishment does not have to be direct. By taking away all the innocent amusements and sources of recreation from the people of the District of Columbia, or of any other American locality, . . . [the Sunday legalists] would arouse a spirit of enmity that would be ruinous to the churches responsible for it. . . The Jones bill should be as effectively squelched as the New Jersey experiment in intolerance."

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A Worth-While Suggestion

AN editor of a Georgia newspaper sent one dollar to our office for three yearly subscriptions for the LIBERTY magazine, to be sent to three prominent and influential men in his community, with this "worth-while" suggestion:

"I believe that if the LIBERTY magezine was placed in the hands of a few prominent people in every community, whose influence is felt in such communities, its influence would be invaluable, and I suggest that you consider the most practical methods by which this might be done. It occurs to me that it might be accomplished through some civic or educational organization.

"I believe that one of our greatest needs is the preservation of our natural and Godgiven rights, and a general realization of the free moral agency of man, both of which are seriously menaced by the insidious encroachments of man-made laws. Verily, there is a concerted effort being made to substitute for the Bible plan of salvation, an easier way—a way which attempts to control the conduct of men through the direction of the head instead of the regeneration of the heart. The apostles of this new doctrine are many, and they are deceiving so many people that the more thoughtful of them are about ready to condemn everything in the way of modern-day reforms.

"To me, the situation looks serious. I hope that I am needlessly alarmed.

"Courage and strength to your efforts to reestablish the 'faith of our fathers'!"

This editor is right, and his fears are well founded. Perhaps some others would be glad to emulate his example by sending in three prominent names of influential persons in their community, accompanied by a dollar for three yearly subscriptions to the LIBERTY magazine. You cannot invest a dollar that will yield better returns in raising up standard bearers and defenders of true Americanism. Perhaps you may be able to interest the civic and educational organizations of your community to carry out the suggestion of this Georgia editor. The LIBERTY magazine is worthy of a place in every school and public library. Help us to place it there.

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Religious Hatred No Place in Politics

HE Kansas City Jewish Chronicle says that religious "hatred and prejudice cannot be legislated out of existence. Opinions cannot be knocked out of a man's head by force of a fist swat any more than they can be eliminated by force of a law. . . . Force never settled any real social problem. Religious and racial hatred is a social problem, and should be treated as such. It certainly has no place in politics."

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Freedom on Sunday—Who Shall Control It?

THE New York World, in an editorial, answers the question, "Who shall control my freedom on Sunday?" in the following pointed answer: "At the annual meeting of the Lord's Day Alliance of New Jersey, held at Ocean Grove, the Rev. Furman de Maris put a rhetorical question to his audience which nearly any citizen not present could have answered if given opportunity. 'What chance has the church got,' he asked, 'with double-headers on the baseball diamonds and Sunday prize fights?'

"The church has the same chance on Sunday that any other organization has. Some people wish to go to church on Sunday; some wish to attend baseball games or prize fights; some wish to go driving; some would rather attend the moving pictures. Does the Rev. Mr. de Maris argue that a minority should have power to bar all baseball games on Sunday, and that other amusements calculated to distract the mind from religious exercises should be suspended on that day by law?

"Church attendance is a private and personal question, which each person must decide for himself. It is no more for the Lord's Day Alliance to prescribe what automobilists and baseball fans must do on Sunday, than it is for those who want outdoor recreation to decide what the Lord's Day Alliance shall do."

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Ministers About Equally Divided

CCORDING to a newspaper report · from the Spartanburg (S. C.) A. Herald, all the ministers of Spartanburg some time ago preached sermons on "Sunday Observance." ministers were about equally divided as to the manner in which the day should be observed, and as to the means that should be employed to bring about a better observance of the day. "Some of them condemned the officers of the law for not enforcing the Sunday observance laws more rigidly," says the Herald, "while others took the position that it was not a matter to be regulated by legislative acts, but one which should be governed entirely by the public's sense of right."

Since the preachers cannot agree as to which is the proper day of the week to observe, nor as to the proper manner and the proper means, it becomes more and more apparent that the civil authorities are not the proper tribunal to settle this religious controversy.

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Carpenters' Hall

ARPENTERS' HALL, Philadelphia, shown in our cover design, ranks scarcely second to Independence Hall in the interest and veneration of the American people.

It was in this hall that the first and second sessions of the Continental Congress were held. This Congress assembled for the first time Sept. 5, 1774. It was on this occasion that Patrick Henry, delegate from Virginia, "struck the keynote of the union" by declaring, "I am not a Virginian, but an American."

In the words of President Coolidge, "Here too was prepared and adopted the Federal Constitution, guaranteeing unity and perpetuation of our national life."

The second Continental Congress met in Carpenters' Hall, May 10, 1775. This was the Congress that in July, 1776, adopted and signed the Declaration of Independence.

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Sunday Blue Laws Inconsistent

THE New York Daily News, in an editorial entitled, "Eclipsing the Sun in Sunday," asks the following question:

"What's the reason that New York City citizens and visitors can sit in a theater on Sunday evenings and watch Buster Keaton do his stuff, but on the same nights can't watch and listen to Eddie Cantor doing his stuff?"

The Daily News then answers the question by saying that a Sunday "blue law, applied in a way that is difficult to comprehend, decrees that the spoken dramas and comedies are sinful on Sundays, while if the same plays were enacted by the silent players on the screen, they would, by some curious alchemy, become purged of Sunday sinfulness."

The Daily News makes this further comment on the inconsistency of Sunday blue laws:

"A law which prohibits the Sunday drama and places no ban on baseball, dance halls, moving pictures, bowling, billiards, concerts, and what not, is arrant nonsense. We urge the legislature to repeal this ancient blue law."

The real reason why the legislature should repeal these Sunday blue laws is because they are religious laws, and belong to an age when there was a union of church and state. Religious obligations should not be enforced by civil magistrates, but should rest solely upon religious convictions. Religion is a personal matter, not a legal proposition.

Clergy Urged to Enter Politics

A NEWS dispatch to the New York World from Rome, Italy, dated Sept. 22, 1924, states that the Roman "Pontiff twice yesterday urged participation in politics on both the lay members and clergy of his church." The dispatch stated that the Pope was especially solicitous for all priests, who were qualified to do so, to enter the political arena, and that they should uphold the laws of the church within the rules laid down in the church discipline. Such instruction is. of course, consistent with the churchand-state theory of government in Europe, but is not applicable to the American system of government. We hope that both priests and preachers in America will keep out of politics for the good of their own churches.

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A Bar to Religion in Public Schools

A^N editorial in the Washington Herald of Oct. 7, 1924, expresses our viewpoint exactly on the question of teaching religion in the public schools, as follows:

"In a California decision, the State attorneygeneral forbids in public schools, even the Lord's Prayer in the way of religion. There is no doubt that the public school system should teach the three R's and other positive knowledge, leaving religious teaching to the discretion of parents.

"It is wise to keep all religious teaching or favoritism out of public schools. On the other hand, it is unwise, and an outrageous interference with the rights of parents, to tell them that they cannot, at their own expense, send their children to private or parochial schools where religion is taught, provided that educational requirements are met."

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No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.— Amendment XIV, Section 1.



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SIGNING THE DECLARATION



L. A. Smith

Freedom, thou wast not born of earth.
Thine was a higher, nobler birth
In God's great plan.
Unvexed by finite bonds and bars,
Thy banner waved above the stars
Ere time began.

Thou wast ordained the heritage
Of man in every land and age;
And to be found
Wherever conscience on her throne
Asserts her right to stand alone,
The world around.

Not by a gilded path of ease
Thou camest down the centuries,
To this, our day;
But ceaseless conflict, and a flood
Of sorrow's tears, and martyrs' blood
Have marked thy way.

Oh, sacred legacy, that stands
By time committed to our hand;
We still must fight
The banded foes of Liberty,
Who seek by force and sophistry
To quench its light.

But when at last the work is doneThe conflict o'er, the victory wonLord, grant that we
Beyond where despot's foot hath trod,
The freedom of the sons of God
Shall know with Thee.

